

# INUIT CULTURAL HERITAGE: MUSEUM COLLECTING BEFORE THE FIFTH THULE EXPEDITION

**Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad**

Research Collaborator, Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution; bdengelstad@gmail.com

## ABSTRACT

In the early twentieth century, George Comer, Roald Amundsen, Vilhjálmur Stefansson, Rudolph M. Anderson, and Diamond Jenness assembled extensive collections of Inuit cultural belongings created by Aivilingmiut, Qairnirmiut, Nattilingmiut, Inuinnait, and Inuvialuit hunters and seamstresses across Arctic Canada and the north coast of Alaska, the future field of the Fifth Thule Expedition. Preserved in North American and European museums, these historic collections—the accomplished work of Inuit artisans—offer meaningful insight into the regional development and diverse expression of Inuit cultural history. Since the 1990s, Inuit researchers, individually and collectively, have sought out these ancestral belongings entrusted to the care of distant museums. An inspirational source, museum collections reconnect Inuit communities with their unique cultural history, reaffirming and celebrating the intellectual culture, resilience, and ingenuity of their forebears.

## INTRODUCTION

By the early twentieth century, Inuit families on the northwest coast of Hudson Bay were well acquainted with American and Scottish whalers. Active in the Hudson Bay region for decades, some commercial whaling crews wintered over to extend the whaling season (Eber 1989; Ross 1975). However, despite the intermittent presence of explorers, many Inuit families in the central Canadian Arctic remained largely isolated from Western contact. This article examines a pivotal period prior to the arrival of the Fifth Thule Expedition (1921–1924, hereafter FTE) in which possessions of fur clothing, hunting equipment, household goods, and spiritual assets belonging to Aivilingmiut, Qairnirmiut, Nattilingmiut (Netsilik Inuit), Inuinnait (Copper Inuit), and Inuvialuit families were sought out by a small group of independent collectors (whalers, traders, and explorers) for acquisition by North American and European museums. In conjunction with the ethnographic material brought together by the FTE, these extensive regional collections—acquired by Captain George Comer (1895–1912), Roald Amundsen (1903–

1905), Vilhjálmur Stefansson (1906–1907), Stefansson and R. M. Anderson (1908–1912), and Diamond Jenness (1913–1916)—comprise an invaluable and irreplaceable source of Inuit cultural history.

As argued in this article, the cumulative fieldwork of Comer, Amundsen, Stefansson, Anderson, and Jenness—as well as their personal relationships with Inuit companions—laid a solid foundation for FTE research and collecting activities. The regionally specific designs of fur clothing, hunting equipment, household goods, and spiritual possessions represented in these museum collections demonstrate the social, cultural, and economic diversity of Inuit cultural history. As such, they complement (and enhance) the comprehensive fieldwork, scholarly data, and Inuit material culture brought together by the FTE. In providing comparative material from the central Canadian Arctic and the north coast of Alaska, these collections strengthen and expand the lasting impact of the FTE.

From a more critical standpoint, the transformation of Inuit belongings into valuable commodities actively sought

out by collectors at the request (or anticipated interest) of distant museums contributed to a rapid disappearance of family possessions and, in some cases, regional design templates. This was particularly true of the distinctive clothing design of the Inuinait of the central Canadian Arctic (Driscoll Engelstad 2005). The removal of personal belongings during this period contributed not only to a greater dependence on imported goods by Inuit families across the North American Arctic but to a significant loss of material culture history. Preserved in far-off museums (and largely unknown to Inuit descendants), these collections comprise an ancestral legacy of incalculable value to Inuit today. “Reawakened” by Inuit elders, scholars, and educators, these belongings reflect the regional expression of Inuit cultural history across the Canadian Arctic and northern Alaska.

### SHAPING MUSEUM ANTHROPOLOGY: THE CANADIAN ARCTIC

Franz Boas’s ([1888] 1964) *The Central Eskimo* presented the first comprehensive description of Inuit culture in Arctic Canada. In addition to detailing the distribution of “tribes,” trading connections, hunting practices, domestic activities, mythology, and ritual customs, the monograph included scores of transcribed Inuit songs, maps, and drawings—compelling evidence of Inuit skill in conveying cultural ideas through narrative and graphic art.

Following his appointment as assistant curator at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York in 1895, Boas was able to resume his Arctic research by recruiting three experienced northerners as surrogate fieldworkers—Rev. E. J. Peck, Captain James Mutch, and Captain George Comer—to document Inuit oral history, mythology, and cultural practices (Boas 1901, 1907; see also Calabretta 1984, 2008a, 2008b, 2018; Driscoll Engelstad 2018a; Eber 1989; Harper 2008, 2016; Laugrand et al. 2006; Ross 1984a, 1984b; Saladin d’Anglure 1984). In addition, Mutch and Comer secured sizable collections of Inuit material culture for the AMNH. Mutch’s collection, primarily from the Cumberland Sound area of southeast Baffin Island, as well as “Pond’s Bay” (the area around present-day Pond Inlet, Nunavut), numbers over 700 objects. Although beyond the scope of this essay, the Baffin Island collection includes elegantly designed sealskin and caribou fur clothing for men, women, and children, hunting equipment, and domestic items. Representing the material culture of the eastern Arctic, the Mutch collection

complements AMNH Inughuit material from northwest Greenland brought together by Robert Peary in the 1890s as well as the Ungava collection acquired by Lucien Turner for the Smithsonian Institution (Turner [1894] 2001).

The extensive collection acquired for the AMNH by Comer along the west coast of Hudson Bay among the Aivilingmiut, Qairnirmiut, Nattilingmiut and Paallirmiut, as well as the Sallirmiut of Southampton Island, totals over 3,000 ethnographic and archaeological artifacts. It complements the Inuvialuit and Inuinait cultural belongings obtained by Vilhjálmur Stefansson and Rudolph M. Anderson during the AMNH-sponsored expedition (1908–1912) to northern Alaska and the western Canadian Arctic. In conjunction with Nattilingmiut possessions assembled by Roald Amundsen (1903–1905) for the Museum of Cultural History (MCH) in Oslo, and Inuinait objects acquired by Diamond Jenness (1914–1916) during the Canadian Arctic Expedition at the Canadian Museum of History (CMH), these collections reflect Inuit regional life across the central and western Canadian Arctic and northern Alaska (Arima 1984; Balikci 1984; Damas 1984; Smith 1984).

Paired with the ethnographic collections gathered by the FTE—and described in its published reports (Birket-Smith 1929, 1945; Mathiassen 1928, 1930)—these earlier assemblages emphasize the regional expression of Inuit material culture. The conceptual aspects of Inuit culture, recounted in detail by Knud Rasmussen (1929, 1930, 1931, 1932), offer particular insight into the philosophical and spiritual foundations that gave shape to Inuit cultural objects. This article provides a brief summary of these museum collections and the historical context in which they were acquired.

### GEORGE COMER: AMONG INUIT OF HUDSON BAY (1895–1912)

Working closely with Aivilingmiut families at the “American” whaling station of Qatiktalik (Cape Fullerton), Captain George Comer relied heavily on the camaraderie and social influence of camp leader Tassiuq (called Harry by the whalers, Fig. 1), who directed Inuit boat crews for Comer’s whaling endeavor (Ross 1984b). In 1897, Comer gifted the AMNH more than 50 artifacts that he had acquired from Aivilingmiut, Qairnirmiut, Nattilingmiut, and Sallirmiut.<sup>1</sup> Following this initial donation, the museum commissioned Comer to make additional collections of Inuit belongings during his subsequent whaling



*Figure 1: Tassiuq and his family. Photograph by Captain George Comer, Qatiktalik/Cape Fullerton, west coast of Hudson Bay, Nunavut, Canada. Courtesy of Mystic Seaport Museum, 1966.339.23.*

voyages from 1900 to 1912, agreeing to pay \$500 or more for each shipment on receipt at the museum (Driscoll Engelstad 2018a; Harper 2016).

Highlights of these acquisitions include caribou fur clothing for men, women, and children made by Aivilingmiut, Qairnirmiut, and Nattilingmiut seamstresses, as well as sealskin clothing from the Hudson Strait area (Table 1). Two exceptional garments have received wide attention over the years: the shaman's vestments (Fig. 2), including a caribou fur coat, hat, and mitts belonging to Qingailisag, cataloged by AMNH in 1902 (Boas 1907; Driscoll Engelstad 1983, 1987a, 1987b; Issenman 1997; Rasmussen 1929; Saladin d'Anglure 1983); as well as the beaded parka belonging to Comer's paramour, Nivisanaaq ("Shoofly"), cataloged in 1906 (Dean 2010a, 2010b; Driscoll Engelstad 1980, 1983, 1984; Kunuk and Dean

2006). Baleen buckets and a sled made of thick bands of baleen lashed together by baleen strips (catalog number AMNH 60/1189) were obtained from the Sallirmiut (Comer 1921). The Sallirmiut collection also includes several pairs of women's ornaments (cataloged as "ear ornaments") made of a thin, flat bone plaque and decorated with a series of dark dots around the outer edge. A dotted line (and, alternatively, a Y-motif) marks the center of the plaque. Three roughly shaped round balls were once attached by sinew or beaded strings to holes along the bottom edge of each ornament (catalog number AMNH 60/2432a, b).

Correspondence between Boas and Professor Karl von den Steinen, director of the Museum für Völkerkunde (Berlin), suggests that Comer gathered a substantial collection of Inuit material culture at the request of the



museum in Berlin.<sup>2</sup> In 1903, the Canadian government imposed customs duties on trade goods and supplies imported by American and Scottish whalers working in the Hudson Bay region. In response, Comer asked Boas to put him in touch with museum colleagues in Canada, hoping to gain favor with Canadian authorities. Working with Edward Sapir of the Geological Survey of Canada (GSC), Comer agreed to collect for the “new museum” planned for Ottawa (now the Canadian Museum of History) during his whaling voyage of 1906. This effort was forestalled by the grounding of his whaling schooner, *Era*, off the coast of Newfoundland. During Comer’s subsequent whaling voyage (1907–1909), he was able to assemble a significant collection for the new museum, gathering over 700 ethnographic and archaeological objects (Driscoll Engelstad 2018a:76–77). Although the bulk of the collection arrived in Ottawa in 1910, Comer shipped a Nattilingmiut kayak and Aivilingmiut woman’s beaded parka (cataloged as Iglulingmiut) in March 1913. A few artifacts from this collection are accessible on the Canadian Museum of History database, including an Aivilingmiut

woman’s beaded parka (catalog number IV-C-709) and a set of small ivory carvings attributed to Tassiuq (Harry).

Several artifacts in the AMNH collection suggest that Comer commissioned works directly from Inuit companions. These include hair combs inscribed with the names “Harry” (Tassiuq) and “Ben” (Auqqajaq), a map by Tassiuq, and drawings of women’s caribou fur clothing by the Aivilingmiut whaler Melichi. Perhaps most notably, the woman’s beaded parka (Fig. 3a, 3b) at the University of Pennsylvania Museum depicts Comer’s whaling schooner, *Era* (identified by F. Calabretta in Driscoll Engelstad 1984), and was presumably done at Comer’s request. The image of the *Era*, elegantly beaded on the parka hood, is shown floating calmly on a ripple of waves under a starlit sky with a crescent moon. Comer’s hand is also evident in the design motifs of the compass rose and pair of high-topped boots that appear on the chest panel of Nivisanaaq’s *tuilli* (woman’s parka) at the AMNH (Dean 2010a:259; Driscoll Engelstad 1980, 1987a, 1987b; Kunuk and Dean 2006).



Figure 2a, b: Qingailisak [Iglulik angakkuq] in his shamanistic vestments. Photograph by Captain George Comer, Qatiktalik/Cape Fullerton, west coast of Hudson Bay, Nunavut, Canada. Courtesy of Mystic Seaport Museum, 1966.399.68; 1963.1767.179.





*Figure 3a, b: Woman's beaded parka, Iglulik (Aivilingmiut). Collected by Captain George Comer, Repulse Bay, Nunavut, Canada, 1911. Courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, NA 2844.*

With a keen interest in technology, Comer introduced the typewriter, graphophone, cameras, and a sewing machine (a gift to Nivisanaaq) to Qatiktalik. During his time in the North, Comer produced over 300 photographs of whaling activities, Inuit cultural practices, and individual and group portraits of Inuit and Qallunaat (non-Inuit or “Whites” – *ed.*), in the collections of the Mystic Seaport Museum and the New Bedford Whaling Museum (Calabretta 1984, 2008a, 2008b, 2018; Eber 1989). Audio recordings of Inuit songs and stories, initially deposited with the AMNH, are preserved at the University of Indiana, Bloomington. The willingness of Inuit to engage

in Comer's photographic productions encouraged similar efforts by other visitors, such as A.P. Low, commander of the Canadian expedition; North-West Mounted Police Superintendent J.D. Moodie; and eventually Superintendent Moodie's wife, the studio photographer Geraldine Moodie. This collective endeavor resulted in an extraordinary visual record of Inuit life at Qatiktalik, a significant source of Inuit family history in the region (Driscoll Engelstad 2018a; Kooyman 2017; Qulaut 1998; White 1998).

Beyond photography, Comer produced an impressive collection of plaster facial casts of Aivilingmiut and

Qairnirmiut men, women, and children at Qatiktalik, as well as Iglulingmiut, Nattilingmiut, and Pallirmiut coming to visit or trade (Driscoll Engelstad 2018a; Saladin d'Anglure 1984). Each portrait is identified by name, whaling nickname, age, gender, and *-miut* affiliation. Hand casts accompany many of the 175 facial casts in the AMNH collection. An additional set of 40 facial casts, produced during Comer's voyage of 1907–1909, are in the CMH, and 25 portrait casts were acquired by the University of Pennsylvania Museum in 1917.<sup>3</sup>

Through his involvement with the Crocker Land Expedition, Comer became acquainted with Knud Rasmussen in Greenland. Given their relationship, one wonders how much Comer might have influenced Rasmussen's later plans for an expedition across the Canadian Arctic (see Michelsen, *this issue*). It is no coincidence that the FTE basecamp was established near Repulse Bay, the region Comer knew so well, and that some of his close friends, such as Nivisanaaq and her son, John Ell (Aullanaq), whom Comer had mentored as a young boy, assisted the Danish expedition in their work. It was Nivisanaaq, intimately familiar with Qallunaat ways, who voiced the most strident objections to Mathiassen's disturbance of ancestral gravesites, even to the point of threatening the archaeologist's life (Mathiassen 1945).

In 1999, Rhoda Karetak and her niece, Bernadette Miquusaaq Dean (see Dean, *this issue*), journeyed to the AMNH to study and photograph the beaded parka of their ancestor Nivisanaaq. Building on this visit, Dean soon brought a research team of Aivilingmiut elders and educators to study Inuit collections at the American Museum of Natural History (New York); University of Pennsylvania Museum (Philadelphia); National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI, Washington, DC) and National Museum of Natural History (NMNH, Washington, DC); Canadian Museum of History (Gatineau, Québec); and the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto). Their research is documented in the video production *Inuit Piqutingit: What Belongs to Inuit* (Kunuk and Dean 2006). Artifacts in the AMNH collection brought together by Comer have served as a source of inspiration for the contemporary artist Germaine Arnaktauyuk. The shaman's vestments acquired from the Igloolik *angakkuq* Qingailisaq (Fig. 2a, b) are given new life in drawings and prints by the artist. A series of women's combs made by Aivilingmiut artisans known to Comer are the subject of a woven tapestry by the artist, on display in the National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa).

## ROALD AMUNDSEN: AMONG THE NATTILINGMIUT (1903–1905)

Coinciding with Comer's whaling voyage of 1903–1905, Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen set out from Christiania (Oslo) with a small crew on the fishing sloop *Gjoa*, which had been refitted for Arctic service. Arriving along the southeast coast of King William Island, they established a base alongside a snug harbor. Still known as Gjoa Haven, the community's Inuktitut name, *Uqsuqtuuq*, refers to an abundance of bearded seals (*uqjuk*). Amundsen had a twofold objective: to record scientific data locating the earth's magnetic north pole and to successfully navigate the Northwest Passage, identifying a maritime route across the central Canadian Arctic. Entertaining the thought that Inuit might be "extinct" and "relegated to oblivion," the Norwegian camp was surprised (and relieved) to be discovered by an Uggulingmiut hunting party about a month after their arrival (Amundsen 1908:113–123; Taylor 1974:20).

At Amundsen's urgent request, Inuit seamstresses completed full complements of caribou fur parkas, trousers, and footwear for the *Gjoa* crew (Amundsen 1908:152–153). Produced in the Nattilingmiut style, the men's parkas featured a close-fitting hood, hip-length front panel, and extended back tail. Broad bands of *pukiq*, white underbelly fur of the caribou, used to edge the front panel and back tail, indicate an ample supply of dressed caribou furs. Such time-consuming work by a small corps of seamstresses undoubtedly compromised their own efforts to repair and replace family clothing. Furthermore, Inuit cultural principles dictated the separation of land and sea animals. This required that work on caribou fur clothing had to be completed before families could set out on the sea ice for winter sealing (Rasmussen 1931). Besides their contribution in supplying the crew with winter clothing, Nattilingmiut assisted Amundsen in many essential ways. As Amundsen later acknowledged, Inuit expertise in clothing design, hunting, sled travel, dog handling, and the strategic importance of food caches was critical to his Antarctic expedition (1910–1912) and his success in reaching the South Pole (Amundsen 1927).

During his 19-month stay in the region, Amundsen collected almost 1,200 artifacts by Nattilingmiut artisans. These belongings are preserved in the Museum of Cultural History (MCH) at the University of Oslo (900 objects), the Ethnographic Museum at Bergen (137), and the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen (120).



(Table 1). The compact handbook published by J. Garth Taylor (1974) provides a valuable reference to the collection with tables describing the main artifact categories by function, material, and size. The Nattilingmiut clothing collection includes 46 inner and outer parkas worn by men and older boys (38 caribou fur and 8 sealskin). A shaman's coat (Fig. 4) features several weasel (ermine) skins attached to its front, as well as a string of beads fastened by a safety pin. A fur band holding carved models of knives, a tin button, iron needle, and beads is also attached to the back of the coat (Taylor 1974:29–30). In comparison to the narrative references portrayed in the design of Qingailisaq's vestments (Fig. 2), this garment contains a more abstract, animistic rendering of shamanistic paraphernalia. Closely akin to the amulet belts and appendages acquired by the FTE in the Nattilingmiut area in 1923, this garment reflects the shamanistic clothing tradition of the central Canadian Arctic<sup>4</sup> (Birket-Smith 1945; Driscoll Engelstad 1987a, 1987b; Rasmussen 1931).



*Figure 4: Nattilingmiut shaman's parka. Collected by Roald Amundsen, 1903–1905. Museum of Cultural History, Oslo (16217), on exhibit. Photo: B. D. Engelstad.*

One of many highlights in the Nattilingmiut collection is a hat made with bands of light and dark caribou fur and crowned with a small bird carving, recalling the dance hat used by Inuinnaït neighbors to the west that was topped with a loon's beak and ermine skin (Fig. 5a, 5b). As described by Kangiryuarimiut elder and artist Helen Kalvak (1901–1984), Inuinnaït admire the loon for its song and courtship dance; the ermine skin is a symbolic reference to the shaman, described by Kalvak as “smart and sneaky” (Helen Kalvak, pers. comm.; Robert Kuptana, trans., September 1981).

Three sealskin brow bands illustrated by Taylor (1974:55) in the Nattilingmiut collection are of special interest. Each shows a wide band “covered on the front with an extra layer of very thin white skin, which is probably from a seal's oesophagus” (Taylor 1974:54–55). Narrow strips of dark sealskin are woven through slits in the front of the band, creating a pattern of vertical stripes or horizontal rows of tiny rectangles. Two bands (catalog numbers MCH 16152, 16153) include rows of caribou or muskox teeth suspended from the band's lower edge; on the former (MCH 16152), these are suspended by strings capped with clear, white, blue, or green beads. This type of brow band appears unique to the Nattilingmiut region, and the woven decorative technique is rarely seen in other types of skin artifacts among the Nattilingmiut or in neighboring areas. Besides clothing items, the Nattilingmiut collection obtained by Amundsen also contained soapstone seal oil lamps and cooking pots, muskox horn ladles; wooden dishes of the type commonly used to hold meat and blubber, and three kayaks, each with paddle.

Curiously, there are only six women's parkas in the collection (all caribou fur), compared to 46 men's parkas. Only two of the women's parkas incorporate an *amaut*, the back pouch in a mother's parka used to carry an infant. This difference may reflect Amundsen's preference. However, it might also indicate women's reluctance to part with their garments, knowing firsthand the raw material, time, and effort needed to replace them, as well as the need to replace a spouse's clothing. Although he drove a hard bargain in trade, Amundsen admitted to having a passionate interest in collecting:

I set about to acquire a complete set of museum exhibits to illustrate every phase of the life of the Eskimo. Before I finished, I had several such complete sets, which now repose in the Norwegian museums. I got samples of literally everything these Eskimos possessed, from suits of clothing worn by



*Table 1: Inuit cultural belongings: Key collections and repositories (pre-FTE)*

Inuit Groups/Locale	Collector/Dates	Museum Collections/Holdings
Aivilingmiut Qatiktaalik/Cape Fullerton, west coast of Hudson Bay (Nunavut)  Qairnirmiut Qatiktaalik/Cape Fullerton, west coast of Hudson Bay (Nunavut)  Nattilingmiut Qatiktaalik/Cape Fullerton, west coast of Hudson Bay (Nunavut)  Pallirmiut Qatiktaalik/Cape Fullerton, west coast of Hudson Bay (Nunavut)  Sallirmiut Southampton Island, Hudson Bay (Nunavut)	Captain George Comer (1897–1912)	American Museum of Natural History Ethnographic artifacts, facial casts, photographs, documents (diaries, correspondence, field notes)  American Philosophical Society Archival material (Comer/Boas correspondence)  Canadian Museum of History Ethnographic artifacts, facial casts, archaeological artifacts, photographs, archival material (correspondence)  Library and Archives Canada Photographs, archival material (correspondence)  Mystic Seaport Museum Ethnographic artifacts, photographs, archival material (diaries)  New Bedford Whaling Museum Photographs, archival material (diaries)  University of Pennsylvania Museum Ethnographic artifacts, facial casts (?), archival material
Nattilingmiut Gjoa Haven, King William Island (Nunavut)	Roald Amundsen (1903–1905)	Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo Ethnographic artifacts, photographs  Ethnographic Museum, Bergen Ethnographic artifacts  National Museum of Denmark Ethnographic artifacts
Inupiat/Inuvialuit Herschel Island, Yukon; Barter Island; Flaxman Island, north coast, Alaska	Vilhjálmur Stefansson (Leffingwell/Mikkelsen Expedition, 1906–1907)	Peabody Museum, Harvard University Ethnographic artifacts, archaeological artifacts, photographs, archival material  Royal Ontario Museum Ethnographic artifacts  Dartmouth College (Stefansson) Archival material
Inuvialuit Mackenzie Delta region (Inuvialuit Regional Settlement Area)  Inuinait Banks Island & Victoria Island Northwest Territories (Inuvialuit Regional Settlement Area)	Vilhjálmur Stefansson and R. M. Anderson (1908–1912)	American Museum of Natural History Ethnographic artifacts, archival material, publications, natural history specimens  Peabody Museum, Harvard University Ethnographic artifacts  Dartmouth College (Stefansson) Photographs, archival material
Inuinait Bernard Harbour, Victoria Island, (Inuvialuit Regional Settlement Area & Nunavut)	Canadian Arctic Expedition  Diamond Jenness (1913–1916)  R. M. Anderson (1913–1916)  Vilhjálmur Stefansson (1913–1918)	Canadian Museum of History Ethnographic artifacts, photographs, archival material, publications  Library and Archives Canada Photographs, archival material (diaries, documents)  Dartmouth College (Stefansson) Photographs, archival material



*Figure 5a: Nattilingmiut caribou fur hat with loon carving. Collected by Roald Amundsen, 1903–1905. Museum of Cultural History, Oslo (16147), on exhibit. Photo: B. D. Engelstad.*

both sexes, young and old, to samples of every kind of implement they had for cooking, sledding, and the chase. Some marvelous bargains were included in this collection. For example, for the price of an empty tin I got two complete sets of women's clothing. (Amundsen 1927:48)

This seems a rather miserly exchange in hindsight, for Amundsen professed a deep respect for women's artanship (Amundsen 1927:48). Photographs taken by Amundsen and Lt. Godfred Hansen complemented the collection. Portraits of Nattilingmiut individuals and families, landscapes, harbor scenes, and interior and outdoor images preserve a visual history of the area (Amundsen 1908, 1927; Huntford 1987). Both in ethnographic material and photography, the Amundsen collection enriches the material culture documented by the FTE 20 years later, though Rasmussen's close collaboration with the Nattilingmiut provided a richer cultural and philosophical foundation to better understand Nattilingmiut regional experience.

In 2013 the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo collaborated with the Nattilik Heritage Centre at Gjoa



*Figure 5b: Inuinnaït research team members Alice Omingmak and Julia Ogina of Ulukhaktok, Northwest Territories, Canada, examine Inuinnaït dance hats collected by the Canadian Arctic Expedition, c. 1916. Canadian Museum of History, November 1992. Photo: B. D. Engelstad.*



Haven, returning 16 artifacts collected by Amundsen for exhibition in the community (Svensson 2014). In an article recapping the lengthy discussion among elders on the labeling of a deep wooden dish “still sticky from seal blubber,” MCH curator Tone Wang (2018) reflects on the challenge of collective memory that can be invoked by a single object. This landmark effort between the Nattilik Heritage Centre and the MCH offers a model for museums in restoring long-absent belongings and the memories they hold. Complementing this community exhibit, the MCH has developed a comprehensive database of the Nattilingmiut collection with high-resolution images and catalog information in Inuktitut, Norwegian, and English.

### VILHJÁLMUR STEFANSSON: AMONG THE IÑUPIAT AND INUVIALUIT (1906–1907)

With a keen interest in anthropology, Vilhjálmur Stefansson began graduate work at Harvard University in the School of Divinity (Stefansson 1964:39), eventually working with anthropologist Frederick Putnam, the director of Harvard’s Peabody Museum. At the time, Putnam was also closely affiliated with the AMNH (Freed 2012). With the support of Putnam and Boas, Stefansson joined the Anglo-American Polar Expedition (1906–1908), directed by Ernest Leffingwell and Ejnar Mikkelsen (Collins 2017; Pálsson 2001; Stefansson [1913] 1971, 1964) to carry out geographic and geologic research. Cautioned by Putnam that the expedition ship, *Duchess of Bedford*, could be delayed on its voyage north, Stefansson traveled overland by train and by scow down the Mackenzie River, intending to meet the expedition at Herschel Island. He picked up travel funds from the University of Toronto in exchange for one-quarter of the ethnographic material collected. The majority of his collection, including ethnographic and archaeological material, was eventually deposited at the Peabody Museum.

Arriving at Herschel Island on August 8, 1906, Stefansson awaited the *Duchess of Bedford*, which carried his winter provisions. In its absence, he decided to move east to Shingle Point and then continued farther east with his Inuvialuit guide, Memorana (Roxy). At Tuktoyaktuk, he spent the winter months with Ovayuak, a highly regarded Inuvialuit leader, and his family (Stefansson 1908a, 1908b, 1908c, 1964:77–91). The wreck of the *Duchess of Bedford* ended the expedition’s plans to proceed to Banks Island. In August 1907, Stefansson left the region in the company of two young Gwich’in guides, traveling by

whaleboat and raft to reach steamer service at Fort Yukon for Eagle City and Seattle (Stefansson 1964:99). The Peabody Museum contains objects collected by Stefansson from the 1906–1907 expedition (Table 1). These include fur clothing, hunting equipment, and extensive archaeological material. Two items of note are a carved ivory needle case, inset with blue beads fashioned in the Inuvialuit style of the Mackenzie Delta region<sup>5</sup> and a once-cherished man’s pipe with wood bowl, both taken from grave sites. The collection also includes several small wooden “medicine” boxes removed from a grave site on Herschel Island, presumably that of an Inuvialuit shaman or healer.

Photographs taken by Stefansson include individual portraits and group images of Iñupiat and Inuvialuit men, women, and children (Fig. 6); outdoor scenes; and Native assistants excavating archaeological sites. Mounted on paperboard, photographs are accompanied by captions, presumably in Stefansson’s handwriting, identifying individuals by name and location, many at Flaxman Island. A series of four images record a drum dance with drummers gathered under the shelter of an overturned *umiaq*; in one image, a couple dance in the open air in front of the *umiaq* (Fig. 7). The female dancer is dressed in a hooded full-length garment of imported cloth.<sup>6</sup> Introduced to coastal Alaska during the whaling era, this dress pattern, known as the Mother Hubbard (or *kaliku*, for its calico print), began to replace the traditional design of women’s fur parkas illustrated in Figure 6 (see also Fig. 8), worn by Iñupiat and Inuvialuit women in northern Alaska and the Mackenzie Delta with stylistic variations by region and locale. Iñupiat and Inuvialuit fur clothing design differs markedly from that of Inuit groups in the central Arctic. This reflects not only their geographic separation but the sharp cultural differences between two regions (Condon et al. 1996; Damas 1984; Smith 1984; for differences related to clothing design, see Driscoll Engelstad 1983, 1987a, 2020; Fitzhugh and Kaplan 1982; Issenman 1997; Oakes 1991).

### STEFANSSON-ANDERSON EXPEDITION: AMONG INUVIALUIT AND INUINNAIT (1908–1912)

During his initial stay at Herschel Island while with the Anglo-American Expedition, Stefansson spent time with the Danish whaler/trader Christian Klengenber (Klinkenberg) and former whaler Captain William Mogg. Both had just begun trading with some “unknown Eskimos”





*Figure 6: Two women standing with child [Kopagmiut/Iñupiat, identified as taken east of the mouth of the Mackenzie River; photographer Vilhjálmur Stefánsson, 1906–1907]. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM 2004.24.3067.*



*Figure 7: Iñupiat dancers, Flaxman Island, Alaska; photographer Vilhjálmur Stefánsson, 1906–1907. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM 2004.24.3341.*





*Figure 8: Inuvialuit woman's caribou fur parka, Langton Bay, Mackenzie Delta region, Northwest Territories, Canada. Collected by Vilhjálmur Stefansson, 1908–1912. Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, 60.1/3518.*

(Inuinait) on Banks Island (Condon 1996; Stefansson 1964). Returning to New York in 1907, Stefansson applied to Clark Wissler, curator at the AMNH, seeking funds to carry out fieldwork among this “unknown” group. Given the museum’s interest in obtaining natural history specimens, Stefansson recruited Dr. Rudolph M. Anderson, a former classmate from the University of Iowa. A respected zoologist and ornithologist, Anderson was an exceptional athlete and “crack rifle shot” (Stefansson [1913] 1971:5). With additional support from the Geological Survey of Canada (GSC), the AMNH agreed to fund a two-year expedition. The Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition was commissioned to carry out ethnographic fieldwork among Inuit in remote areas of the central Arctic as well as collect natural history specimens in the Yukon, northern Alaska, and the central Canadian Arctic, and set up weather stations for the GSC (Stefansson 1964:101). Based on his earlier experience as a “guest of the Eskimo,” Stefansson de-

cided to minimize transporting provisions north, instead expecting to rely on local resources and the hospitality of Inuit in the region. During a difficult episode the following winter, media headlines described their “near starvation” (*New York Times*, February 21, 1909).

On May 1, 1908, Stefansson and Anderson left from Toronto to undertake their journey. As Stefansson soon discovered, radical change had come to the Arctic: “religion had become fashionable”; “the whaling industry, formerly the mainstay of Herschel Island, was on its last legs”; and reliance on Western goods had changed Inuit hunting practices (Stefansson 1964:102–103). Reaching Herschel Island on the Yukon coast, Stefansson found that ice had prevented whaling ships from coming in from the west. Without the hoped-for transportation eastward by a whaling ship—and critically short of matches—Stefansson and Anderson spent the winter of 1908–1909 at Cape Smythe near Barrow (today’s Utqiagvik). Here, Natkusiak (later known as Billy Banksland), an Inupiaq hunter from Port Clarence, tutored Stefansson in his language. Stefansson also worked with Annie Koodlalook, a former student at the Carlisle Indian School, compiling a 9,000-word vocabulary list and recording Inupiaq folklore “that Annie translated into English” (Stefansson 1964:104). In August 1909, the party set out for Herschel Island. Arriving in advance of Anderson, Stefansson, Natkusiak, and Inupiat seamstress Pannigabluk (Stefansson’s partner) traveled on the whaling ship *Karluk* to Cape Bathurst. Meeting up two months later, Stefansson and Anderson, along with Inuit companions, established a base camp at Langton Bay. This would remain their base over the next three years.

In April 1910, Stefansson, along with Natkusiak, Pannigabluk, and Tannaumirk, traveled east toward Victoria Island. In mid-May, the group encountered seal hunters in Dolphin and Union Strait and joined them at their village. Finally, Stefansson was able to begin the fieldwork among the Inuinait that he had so long anticipated. After spending the summer carrying out fieldwork on Victoria Island and in the Coronation Gulf and Coppermine River areas, Stefansson and his companions returned west to spend the winter months with Anderson, Ilavinirk, and his wife Mamayauk at Langton Bay. Eager to return to Victoria Island the following spring, Stefansson appealed to the AMNH to extend the expedition. Stefansson and Anderson remained in the field until the fall of 1912.

Altogether, Stefansson contributed 1,170 ethnographic artifacts and 5,722 archaeological specimens to

the AMNH anthropology collections (Table 1; Freed 2012:415). Over 1,220 of these objects are shared on the AMNH database. Highlights include the woman's parka (Fig. 8) from Langton Bay, the handwork of an Inuvialuit seamstress, perhaps Mamayauk or the accomplished folklorist, Guninana. The benefit of Stefansson's fieldwork is his extensive coverage of Mackenzie Delta and Inuinnaït cultural history. Much of the AMNH collection focuses on Inuinnaït material culture. In addition to hunting equipment, it includes a fine collection of household items such as soapstone lamps (*qudliit*), needle cases, and women's curved knives (*ulut*), as well as men's and women's caribou fur parkas, and two ceremonial dance hats. One hat is adorned with a pair of tiny fledgling beaks, rather than the typical adult beak of the loon. Stefansson also donated about 300 artifacts to the Peabody Museum, including an Inuinnaït amulet belt from Prince Albert Sound featuring a series of bear claws and the facial skin of a bear cub. A detailed report on the AMNH collection was prepared by Wissler, from Stefansson's notes (Stefansson 1914). This report, as well as his personal narrative account of the expedition (Stefansson 1971), was published while Stefansson was with the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913–1918; see also Stefansson's addendum in Wissler 1916).

The Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition (1908–1912) stands out for the essential contribution of Inuit as hunters, translators, seamstresses, and companions—not to mention their vital contribution as language tutors and mentors in Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït subsistence, social, cultural, and spiritual practices. Both Stefansson and Anderson depended wholly on this assistance, as Stefansson had done during his earlier expedition in 1906–1907 when he lived as a “guest of the Eskimo” (Stefansson 1964). Beyond his early dependence on Memorana (Roxy) and Oyarayak, Stefansson maintained a close long-standing association with Natkusiak, whose skill as a hunter and fellow explorer he greatly admired. Moreover, he benefited greatly from the cultural knowledge of Ilavinirk and his young wife, Mamayauk, as well as the experience and insight of Guninana. And perhaps most important was his intimate relationship with Pannigabluk, the mother of Stefansson's son, Alex (Alik Alahuk, born in 1910), who became the family matriarch of Stefansson's descendants in the Mackenzie Delta region, as revealed via poignant memories gathered from among them some 90 years after his fieldwork (Pálsson 2005).

## DIAMOND JENNESS: AMONG THE INUINNAIT (1913–1916)

Returning to New York from the 1908–1912 expedition, Stefansson approached the AMNH with plans for a more expansive, multidisciplinary, scientific expedition to explore and map northern lands. As envisioned, the expedition would carry out geographic exploration and research in marine biology, botany, and climatology, as well as comprehensive fieldwork among the Inuinnaït on Banks Island and Victoria Island (*New York Times*, November 15, 1912). With the National Geographic Society, the AMNH announced joint funding of \$45,000 (*New York Times* 1913a). An additional contribution of \$25,000 was promised by Mrs. Morris Jesup, widow of the former AMNH president who had sponsored the landmark Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897–1902) directed by Boas (Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988; *New York Times* 1913b). Expressing grave concerns over issues of national sovereignty, the Canadian government ultimately assumed responsibility for the organization and financial support of the expedition (Stefansson 1919). Stefansson was appointed to lead what became known as the Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE), which was subdivided into two parallel efforts: the Northern Party under Stefansson undertook geographic exploration in search of undiscovered lands north of the continental mainland while the Southern Party, directed by Anderson, carried out natural history research and ethnographic fieldwork from their headquarters at Bernard Harbour off the south coast of Victoria Island.

In the spring of 1913 Stefansson purchased three vessels: the *Karluk*, *Mary Sachs*, and *Alaska*. Stefansson joined the expedition flagship, *Karluk*, under the command of Captain Robert Bartlett, at Nome, and it proceeded toward Herschel Island. While the ship was caught in pack ice off the north coast of Alaska, Stefansson set out with a small hunting party, including the young ethnographer Diamond Jenness. They planned to return in ten days with fresh caribou meat for the team. Locked in pack ice, however, the *Karluk* drifted with the ice toward Siberia, carrying the ship's crew and members of the CAE, as well as the bulk of the scientific equipment.<sup>7</sup>

Unable to return to the ship, Stefansson and Jenness joined the remaining members of the CAE at Collinson Point, where the *Alaska* and *Mary Sachs* were iced in. In the absence of the senior ethnographer, Henri Beuchat (who was adrift on the *Karluk*), Jenness spent the winter



working with Inuvialuit language tutors. Over the next two years, he carried out fieldwork among Inuinnaït families in hunting camps, large and small, south of Victoria Island. For six months, he traveled with Ikpakhuaq and his wife, Higilak (Fig. 9a, b). The couple treated the young ethnographer as a son, and, for his part, Jenness addressed their daughter, Kanayok (nicknamed “Jenny” for Jenness), as his younger sister (S. Jenness 2011).

As Jenness recalled, he spent much of his time trading for museum specimens. Bringing together over 1,500 artifacts by Inuinnaït seamstresses and artisans, this collection forms a treasury of Inuinnaït material culture. In addition to hunting equipment and household items, the assemblage includes men’s and women’s caribou fur parkas as well as dance regalia, all housed at the Canadian Museum of History (Table 1). Along with other members of the Southern Party, Jenness and Anderson returned home in the fall of 1916 while Stefansson remained in the north until 1918. The events of World War I delayed completion and publication

of the expedition’s research reports for several years. Following military service, Jenness published the expedition’s ethnographic report (1922; see also D. Jenness 1928), followed by a concise summary of Inuinnaït material culture some 20 years later (D. Jenness 1946).

As a graduate student working with the Inuinnaït clothing collection in the late 1970s, I was overwhelmed by the sheer volume of material collected by the CAE. Men’s, women’s, and children’s caribou fur parkas were tightly packed, hanging on rows of metal clothing racks in a large cold storage room at the then National Museum of Man in Ottawa (Driscoll Engelstad 1983). Today, this fur clothing collection is housed in a modern, temperature-controlled storage facility at the CMH in Gatineau, Québec, with careful attention paid to preservation requirements. Although the CAE collection comprises a remarkable assemblage of Inuinnaït cultural material, it has yet to be fully published. Numerous items, including caribou fur clothing and dance regalia, are illustrated and discussed in the exhibition catalog, *Sanatujut: Pride in Women’s Work*



*Figure 9a: Ikpukhuak and Higilak in front of CAE house at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut). Rudolph Martin Anderson, 1916. Canadian Museum of History, 39416.*



*Figure 9b: Ikpukhuak and Higilak in front of CAE house at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut). Rudolph Martin Anderson, 1916. Canadian Museum of History, 39417.*

(Hall et al. 1994). Many clothing items collected during the CAE are accessible on the CMH online database (search <<Inuinait>>).

In addition, more than 700 photographs taken by the CAE photographer, George H. Wilkins (later Sir Hubert Wilkins), and other expedition members (including Stefansson, Anderson, Jenness, and Hadley) are shared on the CMH database, as well as by Library and Archives Canada. The online program, *Northern People, Northern Knowledge: The Story of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913–18*, prepared by David R. Gray (n.d.) for the CMH, offers a wealth of data, including biographies of Inuit and non-Inuit associated with the Southern and Northern Parties. Publications by Jenness's son, Stuart Jenness (1991, 2004, 2011), devoted to his father's work and that of other members of the CAE, as well as an impressive biography of Jenness by Barnett Richling (2012), provide a solid foundation for further research on the expedition.

Although the Inuinait long inhabited the most remote region of the central Canadian Arctic, the ambitious efforts of collectors in this region during the early twentieth century resulted in a comprehensive assemblage of Inuinait material culture, surpassing that of any other Inuit group in the Canadian Arctic. In addition to the voluminous collections gathered by the CAE (1913–1916), Stefansson and Anderson (1908–1912) at the AMNH, and the FTE (see Griebel et al., *this issue*), this includes a significant number of artifacts gathered by Stefansson for the Peabody Museum (Harvard) and the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto) by Stefansson's associate, Harold Noice, acquired by the Field Museum (VanStone 1994); and by Capt. Joseph Bernard, now in the collections of the University of Pennsylvania Museum (Philadelphia), the National Museum of the American Indian (Washington, DC), and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Cambridge (England) (Hall 2005).

Keenly mindful of his pressing schedule, and considering Jenness's fieldwork with the Canadian Arctic Expedition as exhaustive, Rasmussen moved quickly through the Inuinait region (Rasmussen 1932). One wonders, however, what research opportunities may have been lost in that decision, particularly given Rasmussen's facility in the Inuktitut language, his innate ability to probe philosophical questions, and his masterful skill in describing detailed differences in local cultural expression (see, for example, Damas 1988).

## RE/SHAPING MUSEUM ANTHROPOLOGY: OPPORTUNITIES, OBLIGATIONS, AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Over the past century, generations of museum curators, conservators, and technical staff have dutifully cared for the collections of Inuit cultural heritage entrusted to their institutions. Until recently, however, these collections have remained largely unknown in Inuit communities across the North American Arctic (Driscoll Engelstad 2018b). For much of the twentieth century, museum exhibits, designed for urban audiences in distant locations, neglected to recognize the rapid pace of change in Inuit life in the Arctic, and museum publications, exhibit catalogs, annual reports, and magazines produced for members often failed to close the gap.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, museums began to transfer handwritten ledgers to digital records. Perhaps more than any other institutional endeavor, this move to digitalization has expanded—and continues to expand—public access to museum collections. Moreover, museums have emerged as dynamic institutions, highlighting collections of Inuit cultural belongings long “sleeping” in storerooms. Since the 1980s, temporary and traveling exhibits of Arctic cultural history have been increasingly accompanied by well-researched illustrated catalogs and related publications (Crowell et al. 2010; Fienup-Riordan 1996, 2007; Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988; Fitzhugh and Kaplan 1982; Hall et al. 1994; Harrison et al. 1987; King and Lidchi 1998; King et al. 2005). Furthermore, political advocacy by Indigenous scholars and community leaders, repatriation legislation, and self-reflection among museum and academic professionals has reshaped the relationship between museums and Indigenous communities (see Phillips 2011). Increasingly, museums have benefited from collaborative efforts with Indigenous partners directly engaged in the research, organization, and execution of projects (Arnold et al. 2011; Biddison 2019; Fienup-Riordan 2005; Ganteaume 2010; Hall et al. 1994; Meade and Fienup-Riordan 2005).

Across the North, Inuit have been actively reconnecting with museum collections. In preparation for the exhibition *Sanatujut: Pride in Women's Work* (1994) at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (now Canadian Museum of History), curator Judy Hall invited Inuinait researchers Elsie Nilgak, Alice Omingmak, and Julia Ogina to travel to Ottawa to study the CAE collection (Fig. 10). Similarly, Inuvialuit researchers have studied the





*Figure 10: Inuinnaït research team of Elsie Nilgak, Julia Ogina, and Alice Omingmak with curator Judy Hall examine Inuinnaït woman's parka collected by the Canadian Arctic Expedition, c. 1916. Canadian Museum of History, November 1992. Photo: B. D. Engelstad.*

historic collections brought together by R. R. MacFarlane (1860s) at the NMNH and NMAI, building an impressive online presence of Inuvialuit cultural history (Arnold et al. 2011). In 2007, Inuinnaït elders and community scholars researched Inuinnaït artifacts collected by nineteenth-century explorers at the British Museum, resulting in a publication and exhibition at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Center in Yellowknife (Kudlak et al. 2008). In 2017, researchers from the Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq/Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) in Cambridge Bay, Nunavut, journeyed to Copenhagen to study the Inuinnaït collection gathered by the FTE (see Griebel et al., *this issue*). With an enviable reputation for research and community programs, the PI/KHS models the type of collaborative opportunities and prospective projects that await museums and northern communities, grounded in the historic collections of cultural heritage assembled by the FTE and its predecessors among the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic.

## EPILOGUE

Growing awareness of the often subtle yet deep-rooted reality of social injustice that adversely affected Indigenous communities forces one to ask: When do “opportunities” for museum and community collaboration become

a social responsibility and moral obligation? Implementing viable partnerships between museums and communities is a central core of this responsibility. Inuit cultural belongings have been stored away in distant museum collections for far too long, and reconnecting Inuit researchers and communities with museum collections, physically and through digital access, must become a key priority.

By developing formal and informal partnerships with Inuit cultural centers and heritage societies, museums can support collection visits by Inuit research teams while expanding online access to artifact collections. Encouraging Indigenous heritage groups to develop virtual exhibits

using museum-based software programs would stimulate community discussion as well as intergenerational exchange. Finally, established museums can lend support to Inuit communities, advocating for the construction, expansion, and/or renovation of cultural centers to provide adequate exhibit space as well as training Inuit youth in research, archival collections, and standards of museum registration, developing Inuit expertise in curatorial research, exhibit planning, and installation (see Svensson 2014; Zawadski 2016). A century after the collecting efforts described in this article, museums have an extraordinary opportunity to develop more vital relationships with Inuit communities, exploring new avenues to ensure access to the remarkable collections long entrusted to their care.

## NOTES

1. The Sallirmiut population was devastated by an introduced epidemic during the winter of 1902–1903. However, in writing to Franz Boas, Comer also cited starvation due to the overhunting of caribou by Inuit from Baffin Island who had been transferred to Southampton Island by Scottish whalers. Five Sallirmiut survived, including three children—who were adopted by Aivilingmiut families at Qatiktalik.



2. Correspondence between Boas and von den Steinen (May 1, 1903; May 2, 1903) outlines the initial arrangement while subsequent correspondence indicates a delay in completing the transaction, apparently due to the resignation of von den Steinen (Wissler to Comer, January 5, 1906) (.C664. The Papers of George Comer, 1858–1937, American Museum of Natural History, Division of Anthropology Archives).
3. Although these 25 Inuit facial casts were never formally cataloged into the collection at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, a census of these portrait casts, produced by Comer during the winters of 1910, 1911, and 1912, identifies the individuals portrayed by name, gender, age, height, and *-miut* affiliation (.C664. The Papers of George Comer, 1858–1937, American Museum of Natural History, Division of Anthropology Archives).
4. Sculpture and graphic art by contemporary Nattilik artists attests to the strength of shamanistic practice throughout the Nattilik region (Blodgett 1979; Svensson 1995; Wight 2000).
5. This needle case is identical in style to those collected by R. R. MacFarlane in the Mackenzie Delta region in the 1860s (Arnold et al. 2011; Driscoll Engelstad 1987b).
6. As Stefansson noted, a cloth cover was often used to protect a woman's fur parka.
7. In January 1914, the ice-bound *Karluk* was threatened by pressure ridges, abandoned, and sank (McKinlay [1976] 1999:67–68). A small group of survivors, including the expedition's senior ethnographer, Henri Beuchat, who ignored Capt. Bartlett's orders traveled south in search of land and perished (Richling 2013). The remaining party managed to reach Wrangel Island and established a base camp. On March 18, Bartlett and the Inupiat hunter Kataktovik left by dogsled for the Siberian coast. Eventually reaching Nome by ship, Bartlett arranged for the group's rescue which occurred in early September.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Alaska Anthropological Association meeting in Nome remains a cherished memory. I am grateful to Igor Krupnik for the invitation to join the sessions and activities dedicated to the Fifth Thule Expedition. Research for this paper has benefited (recently and over the years) from the generous assistance of Peter Whiteley, Kristen Mable, and Laila Williamson at the American Museum

of Natural History; Karen Ryan, Benoit Theriault, and Judy Hall of the Canadian Museum of History; Lucy Fowler Williams and William Wierzbowski at the University of Pennsylvania Museum; Katherine Meyers Satriano and Meredith Vasta at the Peabody Museum, Harvard University; Fred Calabretta at the Mystic Seaport Museum; Tom Comer, East Haddam, CT; and William Fitzhugh, Igor Krupnik, Stephen Loring, and Aron Crowell at the Smithsonian Arctic Studies Center. I am deeply indebted to Bernadette Miqqusaq Dean, Rankin Inlet, Nunavut; Julia Ogina and Sarah Jancke, Kitikmeot Inuit Association; Alice Omingmak and Mary Okheena, Ulukhaktok, NT; Pam Gross, Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq/Kitikmeot Heritage Society; and Krista Ulujuk Zawadski for their contributions, friendship, and support. The University of Alaska (Nome) and the Carrie M. McLain Memorial Museum, directed by Dr. Amy Phillips-Chan, model the vital importance of cultural and educational centers rooted in northern communities.

### REFERENCES

- American Museum of Natural History (AMNH)  
1875–1916 The Papers of George Comer, 1858–1937, Division of Anthropology Archives, C664.
- Amundsen, Roald  
1908 *The North-West Passage: Being a Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship Gjoa, 1903–1907*. Dutton, New York.
- 1927 *My Life as an Explorer*. Doubleday, Garden City, NY.
- Arima, Eugene Y.  
1984 Caribou Eskimo. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 5, *Arctic*, edited by David Damas, pp. 447–462. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Arnold, Charles, Wendy Stephenson, Bob Simpson, and Zoe Ho, editors  
2011 *Taimaini: At That Time: Inuvialuit Timeline Visual Guide*. Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Inuvik.
- Balikci, Asen  
1984 Netsilik. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 5, *Arctic*, edited by David Damas, pp. 415–430. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Biddison, Dawn  
2019 Smithsonian Arctic Studies YouTube Channel. *Arctic Studies Center Newsletter* 26:14.

- Birket-Smith, Kaj  
 1929 *The Caribou Eskimos*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–24, vol. 5(1–2). Gyldendal, Copenhagen.  
 1945 *Ethnographical Collections from the Northwest Passage*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–1924, vol. 6(2). Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- Blodgett, Jean  
 1979 *The Coming and Going of the Shaman: Eskimo Shamanism and Art*. Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg.
- Boas, Franz  
 [1888] 1964 *The Central Eskimo*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.  
 1901 *The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, from Notes Collected by Capt. George Comer, Capt. James Mutch, and Rev. E. J. Peck*. Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, no. 15, part 1. American Museum of Natural History, New York.  
 1907 *Second Report on the Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, from Notes Collected by Captain George Comer, Captain James S. Mutch and Rev. E. J. Peck*. Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, no. 15, part 2. American Museum of Natural History, New York.
- Calabretta, Fred  
 1984 Captain George Comer in the Arctic. *Log of Mystic Seaport* 35(4):118–131.  
 2008a Rediscovering a Discoverer: The Fascinating Research behind Explorer Captain George Comer. *Mystic Seaport Magazine* (Spring):20–25.  
 2008b The Work of Captain George Comer: Whaling and Anthropology in the Arctic. *Sea History Magazine* (Summer):18–22.  
 2018 Captain George Comer and the Inuit of Hudson Bay. Exhibit organized by Mystic Seaport Museum, hosted by the Embassy of Canada, Washington, DC.
- Collins, Janet R.  
 2017 *On the Arctic Frontier: Ernest Leffingwell's Polar Exploration and Legacy*. Washington State University Press, Pullman.
- Comer, George  
 1921 Notes by G. Comer on the Natives of the Northwestern Shores of Hudson Bay. *American Anthropologist* 23:243–44.
- Condon, Richard G., with Julia Ogina and the Holman Elders  
 1996 *The Northern Copper Inuit: A History*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Crowell, Aron L., Rosita Worl, Paul C. Ongtooguk, and Dawn D. Biddison, editors  
 2010 *Living Our Cultures, Sharing Our Heritage: The First Peoples of Alaska*. Smithsonian Books, Washington, DC.
- Damas, David  
 1984 Copper Eskimo. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 5, *Arctic*, edited by David Damas, pp. 397–414. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.  
 1988 Journey at the Threshold: Knud Rasmussen's Study of the Copper Eskimo, 1923–24. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 12(1–2):129–149.
- Dean, Bernadette Miquusaaq  
 2010a Inuit Amauti or Tuilli (Woman's Parka). In *Infinity of Nations: Art and History in the Collections of the National Museum of the American Indian*, edited by Celine Gauteaume, p. 259. Harper Collins Publishers in association with the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.  
 2010b Video program: Commentary on Inuit Women's Beaded Parkas, Clothing Production, and the Historic Whaling Era in Nunavut. *Infinity of Nations* exhibition, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of the American Indian, New York.
- Driscoll Engelstad, Bernadette  
 1980 *The Inuit Amautik: I Like My Hood to Be Full*. Exhibition. The Winnipeg Art Gallery.  
 1983 The Inuit Caribou Parka: A Preliminary Study. MA thesis, Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa.  
 1984 Sapangat: Inuit Beadwork in the Canadian Arctic. *Expedition* 26(2):40–47.  
 1987a Pretending to Be Caribou: The Inuit Parka as an Artistic Tradition. In *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples: A Catalogue of the Exhibition*, edited by Julia Harrison, pp. 169–200. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, in association with the Glenbow Museum, Calgary.  
 1987b Arctic. In *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples: A Catalogue of the Exhibition*, edited by Julia Harrison, pp. 109–131. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, in association with the Glenbow Museum, Calgary.  
 2005 Dance of the Loon. *Arctic Anthropology* 42(1):33–47.  
 2018a Call Me Angakkuq: Captain George Comer and the Inuit of Qatiktalik. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 42(1):61–86.



- 2018b Restoring an Ancestral Legacy: Museum Collections, Inuit Clothing, and Communities. In *The Hands' Measure: Essays Honouring Leah Aksaaajuq Otak's Contribution to Arctic Science*, edited by John MacDonald and Nancy Wachowich, pp. 81–111. Nunavut Arctic College Media, Iqaluit.
- 2020 Averting Animal Crashes: Function and Symbolism in Arctic Clothing Design. In *Arctic Crashes: People and Animals in the Changing North*, edited by Igor Krupnik and Aron Crowell, pp. 235–253. Smithsonian Scholarly Press, Washington, DC.
- Eber, Dorothy Harley  
1989 *When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston.
- Fienup-Riordan, Ann  
1996 *The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks: Agayuli-yararput, Our Way of Making Prayer*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.  
2005 *Yup'ik Elders at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin: Fieldwork Turned on Its Head*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.  
2007 *Yuungnaqpiallerput: The Way We Genuinely Live: Masterworks of Yup'ik Science and Survival*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.
- Fitzhugh, William W., and Aron L. Crowell, editors  
1988 *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Fitzhugh, William W., and Susan A. Kaplan  
1982 *Inua: Spirit World of the Bering Sea Eskimo*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Freed, Stanley A.  
2012 *Anthropology Unmasked: Museums, Science, and Politics in New York City*, vol. 1, *The Putnam-Boas Era*; vol. II, *The Wissler Years*. Orange Frazer Press, Wilmington, OH.
- Ganteaume, Cécile R.  
2010 *Infinity of Nations: Art and History in the Collections of the National Museum of the American Indian*. Harper Collins Publishers in association with the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
- Gray, David  
n.d. *Northern People, Northern Knowledge: The Story of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913–1918*. <https://www.historymuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/hist/cae/indexe.html>.
- Hall, Judy  
2005 'The Greatest Individual Hunter of Material in the North': Collecting in Alaska, Canada and Chukotka with Captain Joseph-Fidèle Bernard. *American Indian Art Magazine* 30(4):68–77.
- Hall, Judy, Jill Oakes, and Sally Qimmiu'naaq Webster  
1994 *Sanatujut: Pride in Women's Work (Copper and Caribou Inuit Clothing Traditions)*. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, QC.
- Harper, Kenn  
2008 The Collaboration of James Mutch and Franz Boas, 1883–1922. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 32(2):53–71.  
2016 Collecting at a Distance: The Boas-Mutch-Comer Collaboration. In *Early Inuit Studies: Themes and Transitions, 1850s–1980s*, edited by Igor Krupnik, pp. 89–110. Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, Washington, DC.
- Harrison, Julia, Ruth Whitehead, Ruth Phillips, Ted Brasser, Judy Thompson, Bernadette Driscoll, and Martine Reid  
1987 *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*. McClelland and Stewart, co-published with the Glenbow Museum, Calgary. Huntford, Roland, editor
- Huntford, Roland, editor  
1987 *The Amundsen Photographs*. Hodder & Stoughton, London.
- Issenman, Betty Kobayashi  
1997 *Sinews of Survival: The Living Legacy of Inuit Clothing*. UBC Press, Vancouver.
- Jenness, Diamond  
1922 The Life of the Copper Eskimo. *Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913–1918*, 12(A). King's Printer, Ottawa.  
1928 *The People of the Twilight*. Macmillan Publishing, New York.  
1946 *Material Culture of the Copper Eskimo*. Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913–1918, vol. 16. King's Printer, Ottawa.
- Jenness, Stuart E.  
1991 *Arctic Odyssey: The Diary of Diamond Jenness 1913–1916*. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, QC.  
2004 *The Making of an Explorer: George Hubert Wilkins and the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913–1916*. McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal and Kingston.

- 2011 *Stefansson, Dr. Anderson and the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913–1918: A Story of Exploration, Science and Sovereignty*. Mercury Series, History Paper 56. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, QC.
- King, J. C. H., and Henrietta Lidchi, editors  
1998 *Imaging the Arctic*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.
- King, J. C. H., Birgit Pauksztat, and Richard Storrie, editors  
2005 *Arctic Clothing*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston.
- Kooyman, Susan  
2017 *North of Ordinary: The Arctic Photographs of Geraldine and Douglas Moodie*. Glenbow Museum exhibit, Calgary.
- Kudlak, Emily, Alice Kaodloak, and Ulukhaktok Elders with Cynthia Chambers and Helen Balanoff  
2008 *Pihuaqtiuyugut: We Are the Long Distance Walkers*. NWT Literacy Council, Yellowknife.
- Kunuk, Zacharias, and Bernadette Miquusaaq Dean, directors  
2006 *Inuit Piqutingit: What Belongs to Inuit*. <http://isuma.tv/isuma-productions/inuit-piqutingit>.
- Laugrand, Frederic, Jarich Oosten, and François Trudel  
2006 *Apostle to the Inuit: The Journals and Ethnographic Notes of Edmund James Peck—The Baffin Years, 1894–1905*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Mathiassen, Therkel  
1928 *Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition. 1921–1924, vol. 6(1). Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- 1930 *Archaeological Collections from the Western Eskimos*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–1924, vol. 10(1). Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- 1945 *Report on the Expedition*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–1924, vol. 1(1). Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- McKinlay, William Liard  
[1976] 1999 *The Last Voyage of the Karluk: A Survivor's Memoir of Arctic Disaster*. St. Martin's Griffin, New York.
- Meade, Marie, translator, and Ann Fienup-Riordan, editor  
2005 *Ciuliamta Akliut/Things of Our Ancestors: Yup'ik Elders Explore the Jacobsen Collection at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.
- New York Times*  
1909 Faced Starvation in Arctic Alaska: Explorer Stefansson Writes of His Desperate Fix. February 21.
- 1912 Stefansson to Seek Arctic Continent: Explorer Plans Another Polar Trip, to Cover Three Years, in Quest of New Land. November 15.
- 1913a Give \$45,000 to Aid Stefansson's Trip: Geographers and American Museum to Finance Explorer's Search for Arctic Continent. January 14.
- 1913b Additional \$25,000 to Aid Stefansson: Mrs. Morris K. Jessup Adds to Fund for His Coming Trip to the Arctic, Continues Husband's Work. February 4.
- Oakes, Jillian E.  
1991 *Copper and Caribou Inuit Skin Clothing Production*. Mercury Series Paper 118. Canadian Ethnology Service. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, QC.
- Pálsson, Gísli  
2005 *Travelling Passions: The Hidden Life of Vilhjalmur Stefansson*. University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg.
- Pálsson, Gísli, editor  
2001 *Writing on Ice: The Ethnographic Notebooks of Vilhjalmur Stefansson*. Dartmouth College Press, Hanover, NH.
- Phillips, Ruth B.  
2011 *Museum Pieces: Toward the Indigenization of Canadian Museums*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston.
- Qulaut, George Quviq  
1998 Imagining the Arctic: Keynote Address. In *Imaging the Arctic*, edited by J. C. H. King and Henrietta Lidchi, pp. 19–23. University of Washington Press, Seattle.
- Rasmussen, Knud  
1929 *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921–1924, vol. 7(1). Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- 1930 *Intellectual Culture of the Hudson Bay Eskimos: Iglulik and Caribou Eskimo Texts*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921–1924, vol. 7(3). Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- 1931 *The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921–1924, vol. 8(1–2). Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- 1932 *Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921–1924, vol. 9. Gyldendal, Copenhagen.



- Richling, Barnett  
2012 *In Twilight and in Dawn: A Biography of Diamond Jenness*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston.
- 2013 Henri Beuchat (1878–1914). *Arctic* 66(1):117–119.
- Ross, W. Gillies  
1975 Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860–1915. *Publications in Ethnology*, no. 10. National Museum of Man, Ottawa.
- 1984a George Comer, Franz Boas, and the American Museum of Natural History. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 8(1):145–164.
- 1984b *An Arctic Whaling Diary: The Journal of Captain George Comer in Hudson Bay, 1903–1905*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Saladin d'Anglure, Bernard  
1983 Ijqqat: voyage au pays de l'invisible inuit [Ijqqat: voyage to the land of the invisible Inuit]. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 7(1):67–83.
- 1984 Les masques de Boas: Franz Boas et l'ethnographie des Inuit [Boas' masks: Franz Boas and the ethnography of the Inuit]. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 8(1):165–179.
- Smith, Derek G.  
1984 Mackenzie Delta Eskimo. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 5, *Arctic*, edited by David Damas, pp. 347–358. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Stefansson, Vilhjálmur  
1908a The Anglo-American Polar Expedition. *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (February):327–342.
- 1908b Wintering Among the Eskimos. *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (June):38–48.
- 1908c The Home Life of the Eskimo. *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (October):721–730.
- [1913] 1971 *My Life with the Eskimo*. Collier, New York.
- 1914 The Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition: Preliminary Ethnographic Results. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 14(1):1–395.
- [1916] 1919 Corrections and Comments by Vilhjálmur Stefansson. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 14(2):445–457.
- 1919 Solving the Problem of the Arctic: A Record of Five Years' Exploration (six -part series). *Harper's Magazine* (April):577–590; (May):721–735; (June):36–47; (July):193–203; (August):386–398; (October):709–720.
- 1964 *Discovery: The Autobiography of Vilhjálmur Stefansson*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York.
- Svensson, Tom  
1995 Ethnic Art in the Northern Fourth World: The Netsilik. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 19(1):69–102.
- 2014 Culture and Politics: A Comment on Two Recent Cases of Repatriation in the Arctic. *Arctic Studies Center Newsletter* 21:27–29.
- Taylor, J. Garth  
1974 *Netsilik Eskimo Material Culture: The Roald Amundsen Collection from King William Island*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.
- Turner, Lucien M.  
[1894] 2001 *Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC.
- VanStone, James  
1994 "The Noice Collection of Copper Inuit Material Culture." *Fieldiana: Anthropology* 22.
- Wang, Tone  
2018 The *Ilaviaq* Returns to Gjoa Haven: Interrogating Objects from Roald Amundsen's Collection in the Nattilik Heritage Centre. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 42(1):161–178.
- White, Donny  
1998 In Search of Geraldine Moodie: A Project in Progress. In *Imaging the Arctic*, edited by J. C. H. King and Henrietta Lidchi, pp. 88–97. University of Washington Press, Seattle.
- Wight, Darlene  
2000 *Art and Expression of the Netsilik*. Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg.
- Wissler, Clark  
1916 Harpoons and Darts in the Stefansson Collection. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 14(2):397–444.
- Zawadski, Krista Ulujuk  
2016 Where Do We Keep Our Past? Working towards an Indigenous Museum and Preserving Nunavut's Archaeological Heritage. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.